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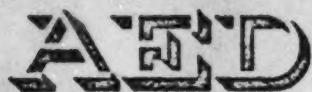
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ABSTRACT

Six needs assessment studies are summarized from the point of view of rural needs, the media and information system, the educational situation, and expressed wishes on the part of spectators for TV program topics in the Ivory Coast. The six studies included were: (1) Ethno-Sociology Institute Study, 1974; (2) Evaluation Service Study A, 1975; (3) Evaluation Service Study B, 1975; (4) Out of School Department Study, 1976; (5) World Bank Study, 1976; and (6) Evaluation Service Study, 1977. Following the summary of studies are conclusions drawn and recommendations which encourage on-going needs assessment, seen to achieve several advantages. Concrete means of improving future data collection and applying results already obtained are suggested. (Author/JEG)

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On Needs Assessment
of
Out-of-School Educational Television
in the Ivory Coast
by
Stephen Grant
1978

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND
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PREFACE

No systematic assessment of rural needs which would be addressed by a national out-of-school TV program in the Ivory Coast was performed prior to the initial programming in 1973. The first three years of programming produced approximately 50 one-half hour programs, the contents or subject matter of which were determined "on high" by an interministerial coordinating committee, chaired by the Planning Ministry and principally guided by the out-of-school department.

In 1975 the Evaluation Service, through the technical assistance it was receiving from the Agency for International Development (USAID) expressed concern that the authorities in the capital not contribute the sole input into the determination of what village needs would be addressed by out-of-school television. Such concern was in keeping with a recently reemphasized appeal in major development funding to involve target audiences, especially the disadvantaged rural people, in national decision-making.

The Evaluation Service's initiative in needs assessment was diverted due to a major World Bank study on virtually the same subject which was performed during 1975-76 and the results of which are summarized in this report. The role which the Evaluation Service played in needs assessment was reoriented to include two main tasks: to review the World Bank and other studies concerning rural needs in the Ivory Coast, and to include modest needs assessment instruments

in each field study it was to perform. The resulting number of studies is six, namely:

1. Ethno-Sociology Institute Study, 1974
2. Evaluation Service Study A, 1975
3. Evaluation Service Study B, 1975
4. Out-of-School Department Study, 1976
5. World Bank Study, 1976
6. Evaluation Service Study, 1977.

These studies are summarized in this report from the point of view of rural needs, the media and information system, the educational situation, and expressed wishes on the part of spectators for TV program topics. Following the summary of studies, conclusions and recommendations are drawn. They basically encourage on-going needs assessment which is seen to achieve several advantages and suggest concrete ways to improve future data collection and to apply the results already obtained.

INTRODUCTION

Interest in performing a "needs assessment" with out-of-school television spectators in the Ivory Coast grew from a specific concern: that authorities in the capital not contribute the sole input into the determination of what village needs would be addressed by the out-of-school television. The Evaluation Service's interest in needs assessment was born with its conviction that the rural and spectator populations had a role to play in contributing to the choice of TV program content to help insure its relevance. The Service had also noted that logically a needs assessment would be performed before not after a project was underway; and in the FTV case no such assessment had been performed. Finally the Service wanted to experiment with different means of obtaining data on needs so as to make a policy recommendation for the future.

Certain principles or considerations accompanied the Evaluation Service's planning about needs assessment. First, a difference was going to have to be made between needs and wants, in one sense. Potential statements by villagers such as "we need more rain" or "we need to be nearer the capital, the port, the river, etc." can be qualified as personal or collective wants. The needs any systematic assessment must deal with should not include natural, climatic, or immutable situations.

Second, a methodology for gaining information from villagers should avoid the direct question, "what are your needs?" Some framework is necessary, for instance a pre-established or tentative needs list to react to, that is agree or disagree with, delete from or add to, etc. However, a danger of a preliminary list of needs to react to is that the list will be limiting, that is villagers will not go outside the list but accept or refute its parts.

Third, it is too easy during a needs assessment to raise expectations of the village populations. Narrowing in too closely on village needs, as a technique carried out by an external team associated with the government, is likely to lead villagers to believe -- despite declarations to the contrary -- that government is "finally" going to begin to take care of some of the legitimate concerns of the population. Linked to this risk of raising expectations that answers will be found to the village's important problems is the danger that villagers will count exclusively on outside help for these answers. That is, the village will raise the question, when will "they" -- the government -- come and solve our problems. Government's position, however, usually is that the development effort must be a joint one, built out of villager participation with governmental assistance.

Armed with certain notions about needs assessments and some experience already with conducting field research in the Ivory Coast, in late 1975 the USAID-sponsored research team arrived in Ivory Coast. The first few weeks were devoted to planning sessions with the

Director of the Evaluation Service with the objective of making a final determination of the research studies to be pursued during the contract. For one major reason, it was decided to curtail the evaluation plan concerning needs assessments and divert additional effort to the other sectors of the evaluation plan, principally assessing the impact of out-of-school programs. The reason was that the World Bank was planning a major study into the regional education needs in the Ivory Coast. The World Bank study was a thorough one, to last nine months, cost approximately \$100,000, and cover the same subject -- and more -- than the USAID plan.

Consequently the Evaluation Service and AID research team reoriented their plan to include two main tasks: 1) review the World Bank and other studies covering rural needs in the Ivory Coast and 2) include modest needs assessment instruments in each field study which was to be undertaken. The resulting number of studies was six; namely,

1. Ethno-Sociology Institute Study, 1974
2. Evaluation Service Study A, 1975
3. Evaluation Service Study B, 1975
4. Out-of-School Department Study, 1976
5. World Bank Study, 1976
6. Evaluation Service Study, 1977.

One more comment is necessary before presenting the basic findings of these six studies. The educational television project departments conducting the studies -- out-of-school education and evaluation -- are necessarily more closely concerned with the subject matter of television programs than are the external organizations such as the Ethno-Sociology Institute or the World Bank. Therefore for in-house studies the needs assessments are more properly attempts to learn what areas, such as agriculture, health, literacy, etc. do villagers wish TV programs to cover.

SIX STUDIES

1. ETHNO-SOCIOLOGY INSTITUTE STUDY, 1974

In 1974 the Ethno-Sociology Institute of Ivory Coast University conducted a survey in eight towns where 733 persons were interviewed on the general subject of educational needs ("besoins culturels"). A questionnaire was administered on an individual or in a group basis to men and women, employed and unemployed. Major results will be summarized under the two categories, education and information, as they are presented in the Institute's analysis. It is not clear from the methodology section of the report how strong or how widespread any of the stated needs have been expressed. They are presented in prose in a non-quantitative manner, and leave questions as to validity and reliability, which are also not discussed in the document. The upcoming two sections can be viewed simply as indicators of attitudes expressed by townspeople in Ivory Coast.

EDUCATION

Education in general is perceived as indispensable for living in the modern world. Its contents should not neglect moral teachings and traditional values (such as solidarity and mutual aid), as modern education seems to. As for adult education, most adults desire it but their desire decreases with age. Illiterates hope education will improve their daily lives and enable them to understand radio programs better. They do not count on improving their professional status through adult courses. School dropouts want to gain more

general knowledge and hope that through adult courses they will be exposed to technical education and be able to improve their economic status.

INFORMATION (RADIO AND TV)

Radio is perceived as the most widely accessible mass medium. Most of the interviewed persons own a transistor. The poorer ones who are not owners listen collectively to neighbors' radio receivers. Listeners in border areas enjoy Radio Ghana and Radio Mali because they broadcast in African languages they understand. Listeners also are frequent followers of other national stations, Radio Guinea, Radio-France, Radio Moscow, Radio Peking, and the Voice of America. On these stations news is more complete and a given piece of news is heard before it is broadcast over the Ivory Coast station. Illiterate listeners make three requests for future radio programs: that they be (1) in the local language, not French; (2) on regional problems; (3) concrete in their information, say on food prices, or advice, for example on agricultural techniques. Television is much less widely accessible than radio, and also sometimes collectively viewed at a wealthy person's home or at one of the rare information halls.

2. EVALUATION SERVICE STUDY, 1975 (A)

A report prepared and issued by the Evaluation Service in Abidjan in 1975 entitled, "A Report on Out-of-School Television in the Ivory Coast before and after its First Operational Year, 1974-75," included a section on expressed needs of the Ivorian population. It introduced the subject by saying that of the two criteria which had originally been chosen by the out-of-school department to determine the contents of educational programs -- Ministry requests plus needs as expressed by the population -- the second criterion had been neglected. The report took stock of the three sources which composed the meagre inputs toward a bonafide needs assessment.

(1) A 1974 survey by the feedback service in Bouaké. Only partial information is available on this survey, to which approximately 265 out-of-school animators replied. Among other items, they were asked to rank the three most important areas to be covered by out-of-school television from a list of twelve pre-selected options. An attempt was made to determine whether the animators' choices differed significantly from those expressed by the listening audience by adding two questions: what ranking (again, 1st, 2nd, 3rd choice among the 12 topics) would the listening audience give and which ranking would the animators attribute to the listening audience? The rank order of the subjects was the following:

RANK ORDER OF TOPIC PREFERENCES OF THE THREE GROUPS OF RESPONDENTS

Position in the Hierarchy	Animator	Listening Group (according to the animator)	Listening Group (Majority opinion)
1	Health	Health	Agriculture
2	Agriculture	Agriculture	Health
3	Literacy Training	Literacy Training	Literacy Training
4	Knowledge of the Ivory Coast	Knowledge of the Ivory Coast	Knowledge of the Ivory Coast
5	Economic Information	Economic Information	Economic Information
6	Traditions	Traditions	Folklore
7	Modern Law	Folklore	Traditions
8	Current Events	Habitat	Current Events
9	Habitat	Current Events	Habitat
10	Folklore	Modern Law	Leisure
11	Industrial Techniques	Industrial Techniques	Modern Law
12	Leisure	Leisure	Industrial Techniques

In terms of the relative popularities of the twelve general topics, there are three fairly distinct groups. The first three categories -- health, agriculture, and literacy -- are almost equally the prime choices. Then there is a marked drop to fourth place: knowledge of the Ivory Coast, and another drop to fifth place: economic information. Categories 6 thru 12 are all of a similarly low popularity.

As for the differences among data sources, the table indicates that from category 1 to 6 there are scarcely any disparities; that is, animators, the listening group, and animators expressing their view of the listening group's opinion give nearly identical choices. And from categories 7 through 12 there is more disparity but still very little.

The conclusion author Lenglet correctly draws from these data is that 1) at that time -- in 1974 -- there seemed to be a consensus that agriculture, health, and literacy were the most desired topics to be treated in an out-of-school program and 2) both animators and listening group may have or express the same needs in regard to development education. One might be tempted to hypothesize from this last conclusion that using the animators as data source will indirectly convey villagers' needs. However, no estimates of validity or reliability were calculated in the original survey that were available and it would be a dangerous precedent to preclude contact with the target audience in such an operation.

(2) Animators' suggestions. In 1975 a group of urban animators from Abidjan were assembled to give their program suggestions to the Evaluation Service. Combined with the analysis of recent feedback forms, the animators' propositions were tabulated in the following fashion:

Urban Animators Program Suggestions - 1975

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number of General Themes</u>	<u>Number of Urban Themes</u>	<u>Total</u>
Household and family life	15	26	41
Health	29	2	31
Modern Society	23	6	29
Labor-Agriculture	24	0	24
Education	18	2	20
Labor-Industry	7	6	13
The Village	7	0	7
Social Services	4	3	7
Traditional Society	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>
TOTAL	133	45	178

Comparability with other tables is difficult because of differing nomenclature and the absence of precise subject areas which could be matched. The "modern society" category in the present table is the approximate equivalent of knowledge of the Ivory Coast, a category in the preceding table. It can be noticed that health and agriculture are still relatively important categories. Perhaps the most noteworthy comment one can make about these urban declarations (where, for instance, literacy is not considered a need) is on the strong concern with family living: the everyday living together and home management. Leaving traditional rural areas to seek employment or a career in the capital has led countless youth into strained family situations which were very unlike the poor but predictably

uncomplicated rural family existence. The city has brought such novelties as more crowded living with a high percentage of unemployed, financial burdens from rent, public transportation, high food prices, etc.

(3) Urban spectators' suggestions. In 1975 the out-of-school department published a report entitled, "L'Écoute des Citadins" which included in its data collection broadcast preferences. Forty regular reviewers (34 men and 6 women) from the Abidjan area submitted suggestions. Of the 43 suggestions, 23 concerned health, disease, and clean water supply, 4 centered on agriculture or livestock. Once more, health and agriculture appeared as priorities. Literacy, again, is not a surprising absence because of the more schooled urban respondents.

3. EVALUATION SERVICE STUDY, 1975 (B)

In 1975 a survey team from the Evaluation Service visited 23 villages to study the impact of the TV series on water. During that survey, no specific question was asked about needs or suggested programs; nevertheless, suggestions were often volunteered.

There is no record concerning the number of times any of the subjects were suggested. One notes first that six general subjects were requested by both village spectators and animators:

Modernization of agriculture

Livestock raising

Literacy

Motherhood and child raising

Banking and savings

Ceremonies and celebrations.

Then one finds two areas where only animators submit requests:

Official documents (birth certificate, ID card, etc.)

Present-day accomplishments in Ivory Coast.

Finally villagers request programs on these subjects:

Food

Health and Hygiene

Village cohesion and solidarity

Women's rights

Becoming a merchant

Rural exodus and the unemployed

Housekeeping

Housing

From the first list of commonly desired programs, livestock and banking had not been treated at the time of the survey, but since six or more programs have been devoted to each. Literacy skill has not been treated, but the other areas in this first list have. From the villagers' list, housing, unemployment, and health/hygiene have been the subject of programs. Women's rights or women's affairs was a subject suggested for programming by the Planning Ministry, but never acted upon. Now that there is a Ministry of Women's Affairs in the Ivory Coast this topic is an ever more timely one.

4. OUT-OF-SCHOOL DEPARTMENT STUDY, 1976

In 1976 the out-of-school department sent out 1480 questionnaires to primary school principals and asked for suggestions concerning new programs to prepare for broadcast. Responses were given to the open-ended question: "What programs would you like to have?" After 162 answers (9%) had been received, a preliminary analysis was made by the department. No attempt was made to denote in the analysis if the suggestions represent or coincide with village spectators' wishes. Presumably they represent only school principals' program wishes.

There was a total of 330 suggestions for programs, which was divided among the following categories:

Agriculture	129	suggestions
Health and hygiene	86	"
Housing	31	"
Economic, social and political information	27	"
School and family	25	"
Credit, banking, savings	12	"
Urban life	9	"
Cultural heritage	4	"
Crafts	3	"
Amusements	2	"
Sports	<u>2</u>	"
	330	"

The categories were broken down into general or specific elements such as in agriculture:

Cooperatives	24	suggestions
Rural exodus	14	"
Agriculture in general	11	"
Mechanized agriculture	8	"
Treatment of coffee plants	5	"
Yam plantations	4	"
Rice growing	2	"
Agricultural diversification	1	"
Animal traction in the forest zone	1	"
etc...		

There were also apparently many requests for rebroadcasts in the health and agriculture fields but this number was not quantified.

The out-of-school department in an accompanying one-page analysis of the list made the following deductions:

- Since there is a request for rebroadcasts of health and agricultural programs, and because repeated viewings of adult programs are generally advisable to increase comprehension, rebroadcasts could take place during the school vacations, with students vacationing at home or resident development agents as animators.
- a year's program schedule should contain only priority items: better do a few subjects completely and well than many only summarily and poorly.

- the category of economic-social-political information has not been raised before. Also some elements in school and family (child education, sex education, selection of a mate, children's behavior in front of elders, etc.) are novel requests and they may reveal an emerging social consciousness which will have to be taken into account.
- the present suggestions are more specific than previous ones and closer to the real world of the Ivorian.

5. WORLD BANK STUDY, 1976

A team of 13 specialists from 3 French consulting firms worked in the field under the general supervision of the Ivory Coast's Planning Ministry for four months in 1976 to perform an assessment of regional educational needs. Specialists in economics, general education, agricultural education, technical education, health education, family education, and literacy/media worked with a statistician and a sociologist supplied by the Ivory Coast University during visits to approximately forty villages (5 villages in each of 8 predetermined regions). The number of persons to be reached directly was 2500. A standard questionnaire which had been prepared was discarded, and semi-directive interviews were used.

The documents produced by the IBRD team consist of 8 regional zone reports, 7 sector analyses, and one volume of synthesis. The present document takes account of the zone reports, where more of the village-level concerns are reported. These volumes followed a three-part methodology: describe village needs; describe existing programs or actions which are intended to meet such needs; assess the pertinence or effectiveness of the actions in addressing the needs.

A reading of the 8 volumes leaves the reader with three basic questions. How reliable was the sample, that is, with what confidence can one say that the individuals interviewed would give their same impressions or declarations under other circumstances? How valid is

the sample, that is, how much of what the villagers reportedly said was in fact what they said? No attempts to come to grips with these two basic methodological questions were found in the texts. And a third question also relating to methodology and which seemingly could have been easily clarified is the following: what needs directly referred to or indirectly alluded to in the text represented actual expressed needs verbalized by the population and which are supposed needs attributed to the population or considered by IBRD team members to be the population's needs? Uncertainties in interpretation founded in the lack of answers to these three questions accompany any attempt to divulge the findings.

GENERAL NEEDS

Many needs of a vital nature were expressed in the report which are not particularly ones an educational program can directly influence in being overcome. Examples of these would be: a water supply when wells dry up from February to July each year; more grazing land; spare parts for ambulances and more medicine; better soil; money to pay for cattle vaccines; better transportation, etc.

There are, however, other categories of needs which are more directly related to an educational or an informational enterprise. The main categories covered in the zone reports can be determined as the following: health and family planning; education; literacy and numeracy. The areas of women's education and the media, in particular

out-of-school educational television, have also been included in this account.

HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING NEEDS

The teams' observations fell on objects which might improve rural health conditions. First, mosquito nets which were judged to be non-existent. Water filters were either "not used" or "rarely used." Latrines, which required to be built rather than procured, were also judged non-existent or rare. In one instance they had been dug, but were not used! This situation raises the question of understanding health practices. The teams concluded that many people did not know about or realize essential principles of hygiene. For instance, there was no understanding of what drinkable vs. non-drinkable water was. Water and disease were not related. Villagers would insist well water was good, would not combat stagnant water. What seemed missing everywhere was health education. At the mother-child care centers, for example, specific problems were dealt with, but no education per se was dispensed. Some new problems have arisen in the area of health. Development brings in its path disadvantages as well as advantages: protein-rich fish now abound in a new artificial lake, but malaria and shistosomiasis have also increased. There are also a number of health hazards due to industrialization, such as the presence of toxic gases in the air in factories, which are on the increase as Ivory Coast industrializes and against which traditional medicine has no remedies.

In one area, some primitive measures are taken to uphold better health practices. A village health committee levies a fine of 600 francs to those offenders who dump their garbage in non-designated places! In another zone, however, there were no special places reserved for refuse. Finally, only in one zone was the issue of family planning raised. The team discovered that in that area (southeast) family planning was unknown, and unwanted.

Needs in the health field can be divided into the following areas: health aids (objects); health aids (practices); understanding disease and health care; health education. The IBRD team considered it a basic need, generalizable all over the country.

EDUCATION NEEDS

The reports abound with statements concerning traditional and modern education and what schooling has done to widen the generation gap. First of all, traditional education is evoked as being integrative, where knowledge was passed down from father to son, from mother to daughter, and there was a close harmony between learning and active productive life. Modern education brought the introduction of school as a foreign institution. Parents charge that the school may dispense instruction, but not education in the more holistic or practical sense. School has taken away the children, replacing and alienating tradition, but offering very little of concrete help in its place. School does

not aid the pupil to enter the production world: upon reaching CM2,* the child can do nothing. School and the production structure are basically incompatible. On a psychological level as well as a cognitive one, modern schooling has wrecked havoc. Adults consider school their enemy, usurping their authority over youth. Once they've been to school, youth no longer respect parents. Schooling prompts youth to be egotistical and disobedient. Schooling is disruptive and does nothing to preserve traditional heritage. Moreover in certain instances it defies tradition mercilessly. The Lobi boys are given a name at birth with which they enter primary school. This name, however, is discarded at initiation, and becomes a totem, that is should no longer be pronounced. The school with its official records do not take this important custom into account. The school year also does not take into account the Lobi initiation period, and many pupils absent during these weeks do not return to school. Schooling is so unpopular that the Sub-prefect occasionally has to come and recruit pupils by force.

Parents on the one hand, then, regard schooling as a foreign, disintegrative process which alienates their children from them and renders them unemployable if they do not succeed in the system. On the other hand, school represents for them a passport to a stable well-paying profession. That is orienting youth through modern schooling to an urban profession may seem to meet some parental expectations, but so often that road ends in failure. So much humiliation is attached with academic failure that some parents would rather their

* The last grade of primary school.

children leave the village than stay. Yet dropouts have access to neither the modern sector (unqualified) nor the traditional sector (alienated).

What do parents want? They ask for a dropout center to train dropouts for some useful profession. Parents specifically suggest that development agencies, such as ARSO,* train dropouts. They want to see local language instruction in the hopes they will be more respected. The Service Civique avoids language training in French because that induces the individual to leave the village and hope for urban employment. The school in general is also thought by parents to constitute an encouragement to flee to the coast and seek employment. Many parents would like to see agricultural training dispensed in schools, both for youth and adults. Parents would like to see a curriculum relevant to the country's labor needs. The school garden concept is rarely applied, and when teachers organize manual work sessions it is usually limited to scraping weeds off the school courtyard with a machete. Even with parental support and donated tools and materials, teachers generally do not organize and keep up a school garden program when left on their own.

* Development of the Southwest Territory

LITERACY AND NUMERACY NEEDS

Literacy centers exist in many areas of the country (WB estimates that 9000 people are reached) on an ad-hoc basis, involving paid teachers and a variety of antiquated manuals in French, often simply first grade texts. In some areas a demand for literacy classes exists but there are no centers. The Ministry of Armed Forces' training school trains literacy trainers, and in their regional camps literacy classes are regularly given. A private Catholic-run development center has tested and used its own methodology for both numeracy and literacy instruction.

Villagers express the wish to be able to count and calculate as well as read a letter or a newspaper. They declare their problems with reading scales and admit they are being cheated by "middle men." They desire to be literate, but for the most part first in their local language and second in French (although in both). Villagers realize that possessing the French language is the key to a well-paying job. They regret that local languages cannot be instruments of socioeconomic success, but have their value largely in being able to speak with the elders.

WOMEN'S NEEDS

The situation and needs of women are brought up only in two zones, where their condition is described. In the north it is stipulated

that women's work week is longer than men's and that currently working women "do not have time" for education. The only partial solution to this problem was seen as mechanized agriculture. In the west, the women's plight was depicted as being exploited by men. Women could not be landowners; they always had to give way to men's decisions, and give up most of their small profits they made selling at the market to their husbands. An incentive seen to induce women's participation in a program was to enable women to earn a little more money. In conclusions, women's needs can be extrapolated in the reports as the following: labor-saving devices which would free up the working woman's time for some education, and a greater say in the social and economic decisions in the home.

THE MEDIA

Out of twenty-three needs statements concerning the media, fourteen are on the subject of radio, seven about TV, and three about mobile vans. It is not astonishing that more are about radio, for this medium is present in every village and broadcasts in local languages. In every zone investigated radio was claimed very popular, the only important mass medium in the village, well liked, and useful for development. Most listeners appear to tune in only to local language broadcasts, claiming the French is too difficult to understand, and the commentary too rapid. Listening habits were declared often to be collective, with 10-15 people around one receiver.

Suggestions as to radio use included a request for more air time, for regional radio stations and programs, for more support programs on agricultural techniques, and for two-way communications, not just being on the receiving end.

Remarks on television interestingly enough did not concern parental learning or amusement so much as they included statements on children's program impact. Interviews turned up opinions that Educational Television helped the students' spoken French (but not their written French), and produced active, inquisitive, critical children. A request was made for an informational program over TV for parents explaining the educational reform aimed at youngsters. Inhabitants in two isolated areas of the country complained of poor reception on one hand, and, on the other, not being in a zone reached by existing transmitters.

Some mention was made of mobile cinema vans which are sent from the Information or Agriculture Ministry to visit villages. Farmers expressed the wish to have news items included in the program (which already consists of a documentary and an agricultural program) and animation of discussion after the viewing. In terms of accessibility of media, in one view TV was judged better known than the cinema.

In general, radio is considered a popular medium and useful for development because it broadcasts in local languages. There seems to be a thrust for information, news and advice through the media.

The researchers pointedly sought reactions to "Télé pour Tous," despite the meagre reactions to the medium TV in rural areas. Most zone reports contained reactions to "Télé pour Tous" gleaned during village interviews. Of eighteen different comments taken from five zones, four were favorably disposed toward "Télé pour Tous" and fourteen included negative points. The positive points were that urban audiences seemed to be reached by "Télé pour Tous"; in one western section of the country "Télé pour Tous" was considered well liked and effective; in one northern section it was judged popular. The criticisms were more specific: the TV film moved too rapidly over the screen to be understood; more stills and graphics might improve intelligibility. In several instances there was no animation, that is no discussion or explanations after the broadcasts. Adults were mute, there was no lighting in the classrooms after the broadcast. Adult attendance was low. In one school, although ten teachers were enrolled as animators, not one exercised that function. A final comment was a generalization that "Télé pour Tous", although it did seem to reach urban areas, did not reach the rural zones. In brief then, the expressed needs would include: slower moving more comprehensible programs on film, a stimulation of teacher participation and spectator involvement.

WB ANALYSIS

It has been stated above that the WB Regional Studies are difficult to interpret due to the lack of difference between expressed

needs on the part of the population and attributed needs on the part of the team. The 1100 pages of reports which included needs statements also contained judgments of a more analytical nature which pertain to how one addresses needs and how one has a better chance of furthering rural development. Six distinct judgments about the system were tallied by the present author and will summarily be mentioned to add to further reflection.

- (1) Farmers in the heavily supervised zones (i.e., AVB*) in Ivory Coast display the mentality of the aided, not the participant. Being taken care of integrally since the artificial lake swamped their homes and fields, they have acquired the attitude of expecting all help for their problems to be donated from the outside. Any object (water filter) or practice not introduced or offered by AVB is considered unnecessary.
- (2) There does not seem to be a reliable or pervasive information flow to the villagers. The WB team was astounded to learn in an area where 10,000 persons are expected to find employment in an iron mine in the next few years that villagers in surrounding localities knew nothing of the project. This reaction rejoins a previously stated villager request for news items during cinema van visits.

* Bandama River Valley Authority.

- (3) The level of knowledge villagers possess in areas where their development can be advanced (i.e., health) appears to be only superficial. The team fears that without a fuller, deeper comprehension, no change will be possible.
- (4) The first of two statements on parent/children relations, it is clear that parents in the villages rely on the money and influence of their offspring to help them in their older years and aid the village in general. The proverb is cited: "When you were a baby, and had no teeth I fed you so that when I am old and have none you will also feed me."
- (5) The second statement concerning the generations is that adults in general will not listen to youth as one who does not know listens to one who knows. Traditional respect for elders, in a society where one does not accord much importance to what youth has to say, is strong enough to discourage one from conceiving of youths as effective change agents.
- (6) Any educational action in a rural area must possess three characteristics to be effective: organization, coordination, and supervision plus follow-up (animation). For instance, fertilizer may be available, and its results understood, yet sometimes it is dumped out not put carefully into holes and its effect is lost. Insecticide may be provided, and its intended effect understood, but two sprayings instead of the required seven may produce failure, disappointment, and lack of confidence.

6. EVALUATION SERVICE STUDY, 1977

In 1977 500 villagers in 18 villages in rural Ivory Coast were interviewed to assess the reach and impact of out-of-school educational programs. During their interview they were asked to suggest helpful or desirable subjects upon which future television programs could be written. 206 persons responded in open-ended answers, which were divided into the following categories: education, health, sports and amusement, discovery, work techniques. Examples of specific subjects within these categories are the following:

Education: adult education courses, learning a trade, how to form a cooperative, household budgeting and savings

Health: medical care, how to take medicine, water filters, making a well properly, maternal and baby care

Sports and amusement: football games, drama, dance, variety shows, serials

Discovery: the capital, foreign countries, the ocean, the past

Work techniques: how to grow coffee, cocoa, cotton, rice; livestock raising; housewife chores

Requests were tabulated taking into consideration the individual's age group, 15-25 years, 26 to 45, over 45

In order of general popularity, regardless of age, the categories can be placed in the following order, with the number of individuals "voting" in parentheses:

Work techniques	(74)
Sports and amusements	(69)
Education	(30)
Health	(18)
Discovery	(15)
TOTAL	206 persons

Breakdown by age gives the following picture:

For 15-25 year olds

Sports and amusements	(34)
Work techniques	(17)
Education	(10)
Discovery	(3)
Health	(2)
TOTAL	66 persons

For 26-45 year olds

Work techniques	(46)
Sports and amusements	(29)
Education	(19)
Health	(14)
Discovery	(11)
TOTAL	119 persons

For over 45 year olds

Work techniques	(11)
Sports and amusement	(6)
Health	(2)
Discovery	(1)
Education	(1)
TOTAL	21 persons

In general the viewing audience appears more motivated for TV programs related to production and employment than for other subjects. Sports and amusements constitute the other chief category (for the youngest group this category is twice as interesting as work techniques). Openness to the world around is the least popular category. Health also received few votes. Educational subjects elicit moderate interest. In brief one can hypothesize that the

younger people have not yet adopted a "serious" attitude toward learning a livelihood and prefer television to be "distractive."

On the other hand, the middle-aged contingent, backbone of the labor force, are considerably committed to improving agricultural production and count on the television to be of some assistance.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The preceding studies have varied in their intent, in their data collection method, and in donor support. Nevertheless they have all added to the generation of knowledge which can be put to a common aim: improving the relevance of out-of-school TV education. The advantages that such inquiry can lead to are the following:

1. A better understanding of rural opinions toward education and development due to frank interviews; for example, villagers often view schooling as a foreign, desintegration process.
2. Discovery of new areas of spectator interest; for instance, social-economic-political subjects.
3. Comparability of TV programs desiderata among different target audiences; school principals, teacher/animators, and villages; or between categories like urban and rural animators or spectators.
4. Ranking of subjects according to amount of interest which they instill in spectators.
5. More significant data over time because trends and patterns can be detected historically, such as increase of media use, evolution of program preferences.

6. Qualitative improvement of data over time, such as programming requests evolving from very general to quite specific as spectators are more exposed to Télé Pour Tous.

Another advantage, at least a potential one, is that of more refined and improved data collection techniques, producing more useful results. Obviously there is a risk of misinterpretation such as a tendency to generalize from research which is not scientifically sound.

Before looking forward to how needs assessments could better be performed in the framework of the out-of-school television program, a few more words about the present situation are necessary. One question reverts back to a preliminary consideration, namely is there really a gap in the needs which are stated by rural dwellers and those attributed to them, but pronounced by authorities in the capital? A second question to be addressed is: what other data are being collected on needs independently of the ones described in this article?

None of the studies performed treated the existence or absence of disparity between villagers' avowal of real needs and urban authorities' hypotheses of rural needs. Although the urban authorities were not explicitly interrogated, one can assume that the programs aired over TV in the Télé Pour Tous series were constituted from "on high", that is represent the perceived needs of rural people.

Inasmuch as program requests collected during the needs assessments included subjects not included under topics already treated, then these subjects can be seen as representing unmet needs. For example, programs on women's rights, housekeeping, selection of a mate, etc., have not yet been prepared, but have been requested at a grass roots level.

There is one argument which can be advanced as to why urban authorities know precisely what rural needs are. First, the majority of high-level officials in the capital were born and raised in a rural setting, to which they periodically return. Second, they keep in touch with rural realities not only from strong friendships with ethnic kin but often from belonging to ethnic associations which organize and help to finance local development projects, such as a cooperative, electrification, or modern housing. And third, the officials sometimes hold political office and being responsive to constituents are kept well informed of the rural condition.

The general familiarity which high-level officials in the capital have with rural problems does not mean, however, that one should dispense with investigation of the receiving side of rural development aid. Local conditions vary, priorities change and the intense expression of need heard on the local scene is often lost when filtered through to a functionary setting in the capital.

The out-of-school department currently utilizes five ways of keeping in contact with spectators. On Wednesday and Friday

evenings, out-of-school department staff visit schools and the following morning share the observations they have made following TV program broadcasts and discussions; the information assembled sometimes covers needs. Unsolicited mail or calls from spectators is sent to the out-of-school department, and occasionally transmits felt needs. Thirdly, the feedback system of forms animator/teachers fill out after discussions following TV broadcasts has included expressions of needs. The research unit of the out-of-school department has made field visits, which inevitably during conversations with rural spectators produce suggestions for TV programming and declarations of local needs. Finally, the out-of-school department has itself carried out one survey on programming suggestions and has received several ideas through this pointed inquiry.

From the past studies on needs assessment, several recommendations can be made concerning improved data collection methods as well as specific steps toward an application of the results already obtained.

Recommendation No. 1. The findings of this report should form the basis of a meeting between the Evaluation Service and the out-of-school department to discuss a) how such needs/program wishes as the ones assembled here have been taken into account, and b) what on-going needs assessment process can be established to insure institutionally that the communications lines from spectator to TV programmer be kept open and actively used.

Recommendation No. 2. Granted that a needs assessment prior to initial out-of-school TV programming in 1973 was not performed. Nevertheless on-going needs assessment is justified, and should be continued. Specific attention should be paid to the evolution of program requests, and to the study of whether certain areas, through exposure, are becoming better understood.

Recommendation No. 3. One comment which research teams from the capital often hear when visiting village teachers or spectators is: "we sent you our suggestions as to new programs but you haven't done anything about it yet!" The TV speaker on out-of-school programs should make more reference to program suggestions which have been received and certainly if any are acted on.

Recommendation No. 4. An effort must be made to obtain as precise data as are possible. Categories as broad as "agriculture" for a program request are of little help to a programmer. In an interview, care should be taken to press further, to obtain suggestions about what subjects related to, or what more detailed aspects of topics already treated would be useful. Requests for specific re-broadcasts should be solicited.

Recommendation No. 5. Standardizing the category system of TV program requests from one study to another would greatly facilitate comparability. Categories such as discovery, amusements or leisure, school and family are difficult to put into perspective when they

appear sometimes and not others or are not mutually exclusive.

Recommendation No. 6. The source of TV program requests should be clear. For instance, if an animator is offering an oral or written program request, it should be clarified whether it is his request or whether he is transmitting a village spectator's request.

Recommendation No. 7. In the future TV program requests should always be quantified, that is, the number of times a certain category is solicited should be noted in order to set up a prioritized listing.

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